Nangarhar University Social Science Journal

NUSSJ

e-ISSN: 3079-2398 (Online) p-ISSN: 3079-238X (Print)
Vol:2(02), April-June: 2025
Journal Homepage: https://nussj.nu.edu.af

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Historical Relationship Between Afghanistan-China Since 1955 to 2001

Mosa Lali[1] *& Mehrjan Raufi*[2]

1 Department of History, Faculty of Education, Ghor Institute, Ghor, Afghanistan.
2Department of History, Faculty of Social Science, Jawzjan University, Jawzjan, Afghanistan.

ABSTRACT

The relations between China and Afghanistan related to "Early Centuries" with strong cultural relations. After organized the new government in China in (1949); the officially diplomatic relations between Afghanistan- China started on January 20, 1955, Generally Afghanistan and China had been up-down diplomatic relation for 56 years. Convincingly, when Afghanistan occupied by Soviet Union in 1979, it was negative effects to relations between Afghanistan-China. During the civil wars of Afghanistan, the Chinese embassy was receding from Afghanistan in 1993, When the Taliban came to Power and established the government of the Islamic seigniory in Afghanistan (1996-2001), and China's government never recognized the Taliban's government in Afghanistan. After provisional government in Afghanistan in December (2001), opened the new Door for both of countries and rebuilt relations to many aspects; China's Embassy reopened on February 6, 2002 in Kabul, Afghanistan. So. This paper attempts to find the answer to this research question; Examining the historical relationship between Afghanistan-China since 1955 to 2001? And the research method used in this paper is the library method.

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords

Afghanistan, China, Relationship, Government, People's Democratic Party.

Article History

Received: 15-03-2025
Accepted: 06-04-2025
Published: 11-04-2025

Cite this Article

Lali, M., & Raufi, M. (2025). Historical Relationship Between Afghanistan-China Since 1955 to 2001. Nangarhar University Social Science Journal, 2(02), 31–40. https://doi.org/10.70436/nussj.v2i02.37

Introduction

Afghanistan and China have long history and have a long history relation, it's related to historically Route (Silk Route) (Serafettin Yilmaz, 2012, pp. 1-9). If we considering the geographical relations between China and Afghanistan, they have a short common border. Whereas China and Afghanistan have only 92 km common borders, but China's diplomacy on Central Asia was very cautious and calm policy for the long term (Younkyoo Kim, 2013, pp. 276-286). But according to history, they had been friendly and strong relations (Organized by the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies, 2009, p. 1-21). Officially, the borderline as common borders between China-Afghanistan with five boundary signs determined and stabilized by Mohammad Zaher Shah and Mao Zedong representatives in 1963 (Research and Studies Organization of New Afghanistan, 2011, pp. 2-3).

The terrestrial ways can have connected east to west countries, mixed the cultural nations and it's the reason for created of new civilization, this idea is absolutely correct; Afghanistan is a bond linking for North Asia, South Asia, East Asia, West Asia and Central Asia and Afghanistan is the heart of Asian continent. Generally, China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan is divided into three parts: 1- Considering the benefits of China's government in Afghanistan. 2- increasing of relationship with Afghanistan in many aspects. 3- Help the Afghan

*Corresponding Author:
Email: Musalali1987@gmail.com (*Lali, M*)
https://doi.org/10.70436/nussj.v2i02.37
© 2024 The Authors. Published by Nangarhar University, this is an open access article published under the CC-BY license https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0

government develop and resolve Afghanistan's problems, especially in the security approach (Dirk Van Der, 2014, pp. 1-20). Afghanistan with China have moderate friendship policy around more than semi-century, China can have helped to Afghanistan in many aspects, for instance in security, economy and politics until reached as strategic partnership, if we comparison between these approaches; security aspect more important than other aspects and the implementations of other aspects directly dependent to security situations in Afghanistan. According to these cases; firstly, Afghanistan is very important for China's prospective in many aspects; natural sources, importing for free market and the significant of transit of Afghanistan. But the China's economic aims in Afghanistan directly need to optimistic pay attention of Afghan's government and Afghan's people and it is crucial for China's economic enterprise in region, related to political and security situations. For example: China has blueprinted five billion dollars' investment to Gwadar-Port of Pakistan every year, the parallel of this blueprint, the economically plan of One Belt, One Road Initiative (BRI) is also has economic-security significance for Chinese government. On the other hand, the interested investment of China on the mines sources of Afghanistan is a good example for huge economic blueprint of China. These plans with huge investments also highlight the importance of the region's political-economic-security equations. According to this prospective; Afghanistan has significant for Chinese government. It's the reason why China doesn't want Afghanistan return to Extremist Islamist Governments era.

China is standing with Afghanistan clearly and sticking, but relatively, it is situated in the position of avoiding or not attracting much more attention or publicity of Afghanistan (Zhao Huasheng, 2012, pp. 1-21). Generally, China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan has three principles and objectives: (1) to protect from the security of Xinjiang province. (2) To refuge development of more economic connections, with enterprise in the sources of natural. (3) To combat with the result of US, Western countries and India. The implementation of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan might have some challenges at the present or in the future with the presence of the United States in Afghanistan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and regional rivals (Fazil, 2014, pp. 83-88). China follows universal identification and international laws (Jens Vesterlund Mathiesen, 2019, pp. 1-3). China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan has many different approaches; it started from appointing a special envoy to Afghanistan to increasing China's involvements in Afghanistan, consider the international mechanisms for Afghanistan and more emphasizing regional security (Justyna Szczudlik-Tatar, 2014, pp. 1-6).

As well as the "Historical Relationship Between Afghanistan-China Since 1955 to 2001" is the real gap for analyzing because before that, there is no done any research about it by anyone.

Objectives of Study

The research purpose of this topic is on Historical Relationship Between Afghanistan-China Since 1955 to 2001. Because it is a good point in the history of Afghanistan. for the first time, established a democratically government in Afghanistan, the main aim of this topic is explicating roles of "Afghanistan's policy" and "Chinese policy" to each other's since 1955 to 2001.

The historical significance of Afghanistan and China related to the "Silk Road" in the "Early Centuries," and cultural revelation of China in 1949, some youth Afghan's intellectuals without any direct support and connection, deeply interested to Maoism, to revive of this intellectual movement and old cultural relations is necessary to communications and connection. According to historical relationship of China and Afghanistan; for implantation of political significance there are being some conditions; if China changes its own foreign policy about the political system of Afghanistan from "low politics" to "high politics," and it is more helpful for Afghanistan than the US and NATO. The second condition, At least China can play a Role the same levels of United States, NATO, and Union European in Afghanistan. The third condition; China can play more Roles in solving security problems in Afghanistan than other powers. According to the theoretical framework of Copenhagen School and given China's regional power, China can play a crucial role in coming lasting peace and security stability in Afghanistan.

Research Questions

This paper attempts to find the answer to this research question; Examining the historical relationship between Afghanistan-China since 1955 to 2001?

What is the historical development of Afghanistan-China since 1955 to 2001?

The policymakers of Afghanistan and China, how can more focus on realism-constructivism and positively impacts approach on China-Afghanistan relationship?

Methodology

This research will be used from a qualitative analytical method of secondary sources such as academic papers, books, websites, media, news, and also the review of statements by official governments of China and Afghanistan. Reports of media and official pieces of evidence are the other more important reference for the review of foreign policies of the countries involved. The real aim of this topic is to examine of People's Republic of China (PRC) policy in Afghanistan in the regional sphere and better understanding of China's security and geostrategic concerns, what is the responses of the Afghan's government and Afghan's people. However, it needs to be mentioned, research about it has different approaches, but according historical relationship of both countries, this topic will focus more on realism-constructivism and positively impacts approach on China-Afghanistan relationship. The base of this research topic is analytical- descriptive methods and will try to answer the research questions.

Background of leftist thought in Afghanistan

For the first time the Marxist's thought disclosure in the sixth decade of the twentieth century in Afghanistan. Nur Mohammad Traki, Babrak Karmal, Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar and Sultan Ali Keshtmand were the first rings of Marxist thought in Afghanistan. Some Afghan's historians have believed; the Marxist's thought in Afghanistan related to Amanullah Khan and the second constitutional movement era, it's organized by Afghan's youth; like Abdur Rahman Ludin, Ghulam Mahyudin Irti, and Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, they were stubborn fans of Amanullah Khan and they were the main members of Marxist thought in Afghanistan (Hussainzahda, 2009, p. 1).

According to Mesbahzada's book; might the main reason for execution of Abdur Rahman Ludin, Taj Muhammad Paghmani, Faiz Muhammad Barut, and Ghulam Muhammad Irti by Muhammad Nadir Shah (King of Afghanistan) was their connection with Soviet Union; Muhammad Nadir Shah got it information about their connection through of his brother Muhammad Hashim and Muhammad Hashim Khan was as ambassador of Afghanistan to Moscow in the Amanullah Khan era. "Abdur Rahman Ludin getting acquainted with Communist's thought through of the Sardar Ahmad Jan Rahmani and Faqir Muhammad Khan; both of them as diplomats in the ambassador of Afghanistan in Moscow and secretly as Afghan communist's representatives participated to Third World Congress of Communist in Baku the current capital of the Republic of Azerbaijan" (Mesbahzada, 2005, p. 86). Some authors had believed; movements of constitutional, Homeland of Party, and Awake Youth of Party had communist thought. "Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar and Dr Abdur Rahman Mahmudy at the first were the members of Awake Youth of Party and then established People's and Homeland Parties. The homeland party of Afghanistan established at the same time with victories of communist in China, but the people's party of Afghanistan established almost one year after established of People's Republic of China (Hussainzahda, 2009, p. 3).

Socialism in Afghanistan

The all historians and authors totally agree about secretly organized intellectuals of Afghan groups of Marxism in the sixth decade of twentieth century for the first time. According to Zahir Tanin's book; the main works of these intellectuals were exchanging of books, teachings and information. "Their famous intellectuals in this era were Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, Nur Muhammad Taraki and Babrak Karmal." They secretly organized the Party's Congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in the house of Nur Muhammad Taraki on January 1, 1965; in this meeting chosen the main leaders of party and approved the party's constitution, general policy and basic lines of the People's Democratic Party, despite Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar was very soon leaved this party (Tanin, 2005, pp. 125-130).

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in the first years like other communist parties in the world; didn't speak publicly about Marxist's ideas, but didn't hide the facts and mentioned; the main goal of them is to create a socialist society. According to Abdul Krim Mesaq's idea; "the all plans of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan should establishing in this situations, almost the all members of congress familiarity with literature of socialist but didn't have deeply information about socialism, they said; our strategic-goal is a democratic transformation and our ultimate- goal is to build a socialist society." The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan didn't have unity on the first time, but very soon divided to two parts; "Khalq" and "Parcham". Nur Muhammad Taraki took the responsible leadership of the Khalq's party and Babrak Karmal took the responsible leadership of the Parcham's Party, when the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan came to power in Afghanistan these disputes reached to

own of top level. Eventually, it led to a bloody internal party purge (Hussainzahda, 2009, p. 3).

National Oppression

Tahir Badakhshi was one of the founders and one of the central members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; he was involved for ethnic conflicts with Nur Muhammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin and their conflict reached to top level. Eventually, he was leave the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and established the "Afghan Workers' Revolutionary Organization" (SAZA). And then the members of this organization was famous to "National Oppression" and the most members of it was from Tajik's ethnic of Afghanistan, this organization follow it the Marxist ideas, but they noted: "the main problem of Afghanistan is conflicts of ethnics and nationalities problems and the members of this organization had believe the Pashtun ethnic of Afghanistan with unreasonable and bullying have become for miserable of other tribes in Afghanistan. And then it also divided to two parts; the leadership of the "Afghan Workers' Revolutionary Organization" was by Tahir Badakhshi and the leadership of the "Afghan Workers' Sacrifice Organization" was by Baies Badakhshi (Hussainzahda, 2009, p. 4). The activities of these organizations were more in the north part of Afghanistan; also the leaders of these organizations originally were from north part of Afghanistan. Tahir Badakhshi was sentenced to prison during the Daoud Khan's era for anti-government activities and he was released during of coup against to Daoud Khan President of Afghanistan in 1978. But later he was killed by Afghan's communists' governments for anti- communist (Tanin, 2005, p. 131).

New Democratic Population or Afghan's Maoist (Shola-e- Javid)

After People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the other biggest leftism announced existence in Afghanistan; it called "New Democratic Population" and famous to "Shola-e-Javid". This Afghan's group was Maoist's followers and Mao Zedong thoughts, he was the founder the Communist Party of China (CPC) in China and the ideology of the Chinese Revolution was at the forefront of his plans. Eventually, China's Communist Party of Afghanistan (PYO) announced an anti-Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Apparently, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1989, we couldn't see any activities from the Afghan Maoist movement in the current political system of Afghanistan (Ibrahimy, 2012, p. 16).

The members of "New Democratic Population Party of Afghanistan" claimed; this flow of thinking just a few months later, after established of "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan" secretly organized by Afghan's intellectuals of leftists in Kabul. At the first time this group like People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan did secretly activities, but in 1969 it became public and their members did some activities in the public of society (Hussainzahda, 2020, p. 3).

After the activities of this organization made public the "New Democratic Population of Afghanistan" released the weeklies of "Shola-e-Javid" and then the name of this group became popular to "Shola-e-Javid". The weeklies of "Shola-e-Javid" with director responsible of Dr Rahim Mahmudi and collaboration of Hadi Mahmudi only published 11 numbers, in during of 13th National Assembly elections of Afghanistan it stopped, because it released some topics against to monarchy. The "New Democratic Population" (Afghan's Maoist) unlike of "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan". But, (PDPA) had most regular party organization in Afghanistan, the flow of thinking of "Shola-e-Javid" was weakness from organizationally and ideologically aspects and they didn't have any clear plan for society of Afghanistan. It was the main reason for collapsed and conflicts of this organization. The extremely internal conflicts of this organization were the main reason for divided of it to six other parts. One group separated from this organization by leadership of Mahmudi's brothers; the most members of it were from family of Abdur Rahman Ludin. The other smallest groups separated from this organization and the famous leaders of them were Akram Yari, Majid Kalakani, Osman Landai, and Abdullah Mazari, they were popular to "Shola-es" in the contemporary history of Afghanistan (Mesbahzada, 2005, p. 87).

Generally, the most all left-wing currents in Afghanistan separated from "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan" and "New Democratic Population of Afghanistan". Originally, they were related to these two kinds of communists in Afghanistan (Hussainzahda, 2009, p. 3). After collapsed of Afghan's Communists by Mujahidin in Afghanistan and Afghanistan comeback to civil wars and organized several governments of feudal like before 1747 in Afghanistan. After return of civil wars in Afghanistan the Taliban regime came to power of Afghanistan (1996-2001) but the Chinese government never recognized their government in Afghanistan (Baisali Mohanty, 2017, p. 2).

The relations of China and Afghanistan reached to high level in the period of national unity government of Afghanistan. Mohammad Ashraf Ghani after adjured as president of Afghanistan in 29 September 2014, in the first speech at the citadel, descriptions of his government's foreign policy; "the position of China is particular; and it has high position in the government of Afghanistan than other six neighbors' countries". He mentioned: "China is a strategic partnership for Afghanistan in the short-term, medium-term and long term and he admired the Xi Jinping's idea about Continent of Asia; he said: "it's a full book for Asia's Continent". He was mentioned; for development of economic in Afghanistan; China's idea more useful than other regional countries and world countries. The blueprints of Gwadar-Port, Silk Road, One Belt, One Road Initiative, attracting of China's government to natural mines of Afghanistan and the importance of transit in this country, it's more helpful for close relationships between China and Afghanistan in many aspects (J. Ahmady, 2017, pp. 2-3).

Until now it's clearly; the function of China doesn't like Russia, USA, Pakistan, India, and Iran in Afghanistan. China's performance absolutely differences than other countries in Afghanistan; China's foreign towards in Afghanistan based on the moderate friendship.

Study of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan (1955-1990)

In the past, Afghanistan never had been a strategic country for China. Although China-Afghanistan trade relations have existed since the 16th century; but until 1944, there was no incentive to build strong bilateral relations between both of two countries. While the nationalist government came to power in China; China-Afghanistan signed an agreement for establishing of good relationships between both of countries (Gargi Dutt, 1980, p. 597).

And then the government of People's Republic of China increased its assistance in Afghanistan and it was main reason for rising of relations between China-Afghanistan. On January 12, 1950, Afghanistan officially recognized the new government of China. Although no similar reaction was seen from China; but eventually, the concerns of US economic and military aid to Afghanistan led China to recognized Afghanistan in 1955. As a result of the diplomatic recognition of two countries; China sent "Ting Kou Yu" to Afghanistan as ambassador, and Afghanistan sent Abdul Samad to China as ambassador. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, there has been no active political and economic cooperation between China-Afghanistan. China's concerns about close relations of Soviet-Afghan have been a major factor in China's approach to bilateral trade with Kabul. The close relations of Soviet Union-Afghanistan were the main reason for created an "ambiguity policy" of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. On the other hand, the Soviet Union also expressed concerns about the role of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan, in a way, the Soviet Union military operations in Afghanistan continued for a long-time. For China, these actions posed a threat to Afghanistan's sovereignty as well as to China's national interests. China in the terms of defensive position it legitimized the growing focus on Afghanistan. In 1957, China signed a treaty with Afghanistan. According to this treaty; China showed its desire to develop relations with this country.

Beijing in during of Prime Minister of "Zhou Enlai" in 1960 signed a pact of friendship and non-aggression pact with Afghanistan (Baisali Mohanty, 2018, pp. 129-130). Also in 1965, signed a border treaty and a protocol for demarcation border between two countries. China has improved its relations with Afghanistan by recognizing the 40-mile common border in the Wakhan Pamir region (Emadi, 1993, pp. 1-2). In during Liu Shao-Qi's visit to Kabul, both of countries in the formal statements announced strongly supported from "five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" and "ten Principles of the Bandung's Conference in 1955".

China to counter of Western aids to Afghanistan, repayment of its interest-free loans and it made through Afghanistan's exports to china and it extended for a period of 10 to 20 years. From 1950s to 1960s, China's foreign policy focused on aiding revolutionary, anti-imperialist and efforts as a result of Sino-Soviet rivalry over influence in the Third World (Shen-Yu Dai, 1966, p. 213). With the expansion of Soviet influence in Kabul, China has adopted a strategy to counter the siege of Afghanistan. The military coup supported by Soviet Union in 17 July, 1973. as a result, Mohammad Dawood Khan Came to power in Kabul. Historians mentioned from Dawood Khan as main architect of the special relations of Afghanistan-Soviet Union. Therefore, in the Regime's Republic of Dawood Khan, China was witness for significant increase of Soviet Union influence in Afghanistan. In July 1973, China for calmed down of Afghan's opposition forces against to Dawood Khan's regime, officially recognized the Regime's Republic of Afghanistan. However, Dawood's attacked to a pro-China organization. In response, China provided military and economic support from Pashtun and Baluch independence activists in Afghanistan. The Pakistan's government also prepared some forces and munitions for

Islamic fundamentalists against to Dawood Khan's Regime. Additionally, one of the other reasons is why China felt threatened because the nuclear arsenal of "Lop nor" in Xinjiang province is near to Afghanistan's border. China has short common border (90 km) with Afghanistan in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. This area is hometown for Muslims Uyghurs; the Uyghurs minority is trouble-maker for Chinese government forever.

The Durand-Line (border-line between Afghanistan-Pakistan), drawn by British government in 1893, it's located in the northwest of Afghanistan; it separates the Pashtun population of Afghanistan and Pakistan. When parts of the Pashtun population that later became Pakistani and they refused to join of Afghanistan, Durand-Line separation problems were exacerbated; even the UN intervention in recognizing the borders of the colonial era as national borders and did not help to resolve of this conflict. Pakistan retains its as base of the Afghan's and Pakistani Pashtun, it has gained since the 1948 war with India over Kashmir, Pakistan like Britain, was able to run Afghanistan policies to its advantage. Pakistan saw Soviet Union influence in Afghanistan as a threat to its sovereignty and also saw India's support from Afghan's Pashtun as India's strategy to harm of Pakistan (Baisali Mohanty, 2018, p. 131) while in the case of the Pashtuns, China supported from Pakistan's approach towards Afghanistan; but, the Soviet Union only supported from Afghanistan. Against good relations of Soviet Union-Afghanistan, Washington, Islam Abad and Riyadh with Aiming to create of "Jihad" against Soviet Union in Afghanistan, they provided a lot of help to the "Jihadists forces" in Afghanistan. According to Chinese leadership; Soviet Union's domination in Afghanistan is a significant security threat to China and the littoral states in the Middle East.

In the 1979, Soviet Union's forces attacked to presidential palace of Afghanistan with the aim of hitting to China and United States and killed Hafizullah Amin with his forces. After that, Babrak Kramal came to power as the representative of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and he became the President of Afghanistan. For to do of this work; the Soviet Union used from Brezhnev Doctrine; it was signed in 1968. This Doctrine gave to Soviet the right to intervention in the affair of those countries for protection of communist regimes against to internal tumults. On the other hand, China demands withdrawal of Soviet's troops from Afghanistan because China no recognized longer diplomatically Soviet domination in Afghanistan. China was more frustrated by Afghanistan-Soviet friendship pact in 1978; therefore, China was efforts to establish a stronger relationship with the US leadership.

The change of leadership in China after death of Mao Zedong in 1976 marked the beginning of China's positive relationship with the United States. In 1978, Afghanistan abandoned its "active neutrality" policy. It led to the formal occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet in 1979. From the Soviet point of view; the close relations between China and United States were a growing threat and that reason accelerated the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. As a result, China reduced its role for development of Afghanistan and with the support of extremist Islamic groups in Pakistan, it sought to retaliate against Soviet actions in Afghanistan. China's Foreign Minister said in a statement: "Afghanistan is China's neighbour and therefore the Soviet armed invasion in Afghanistan poses a threat to China's security. This invasion created some concerns for Chinese People." (Baisali Mohanty, 2017, p. 9). Despite, China's concerns more rise towards Afghanistan, previously, Afghanistan was not very important in China's foreign policy and China's behaviour only reaction against to US and Soviet's policies towards Afghanistan; therefore, China's foreign policy in Afghanistan is absolutely "Contradictory and compromise policy", it seemed to seek to create obstacles and to prevent of Afghanistan from Soviet hegemonic domination. In during of this period, China's compromise with Afghanistan was partial, condition and sometimes contradictory. From 1979 to 1989, until the end of the Soviet's occupation of Afghanistan; Pakistan, China and United States were convergences. Eventually, China's desire to advance a strong strategic strategy against Soviet Union in Afghanistan and its policy convergences towards Afghanistan like Pakistan, US and Iran led to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. The Chinese leadership sought to convince American and Western European leaders that the Soviet Union's position in Afghanistan was part of a larger strategy that could pose a serious threat to Europe (A.Z Hilali, 2010, pp. 323-325).

The Sino-Soviet dispute led to a tripartite alliance of China, United States and Pakistan against Soviet Union's adventurers. At the same time, India sought to establish a good relation with China in order to reduce its reliance on the Soviet Union; in 1979, Indian Foreign Minister "Atal Bihari Vajpayee" visited Beijing, and both of countries formally re-established diplomatic relations. The danger that China felt weakness against to that threat but it was the main reason for created of closer relations between China-Western countries. China Chosen this approach for strengthen of its position against Soviet Union. On the other hand, after 1971, the US on

presidencies of Nixon, sought to strengthen America's strategic value in tripartite of regional diplomacy. According to this strategy; the United States by led of Richard Nixon convinces the Soviet Union that military strike on China was unacceptable, and this approach was more effective. The Pentagon was pleased to sell arms to China for complicate and disrupt Soviet planning. The Soviet Union felt threatened by the strengthening of Sino-US relations and this could provoke the Soviet Union to invade of Afghanistan. In the following of Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, China was keen support from Afghan's protesters inside and outside of Afghanistan; "Huang Hua" the Chinese Foreign Minister in during visit to Pakistan in 1980, expressed China's solidarity and strong support from Afghan's refugees in Pakistan. Also, Beijing has provided significant humanitarian assistance to Afghan's refugees in Pakistan. In 1988, China sent more than 1250 tonnes of rice and about one million yards of cloth to Afghan's refugees in Pakistan. Additionally, China has pledged widespread support from Pakistan's Islamic parties. In the between of 1980 and 1995, China provided around $ 400 million in weapons to Pakistan's Islamic Parties and among of them were HN-5 surface-to-air missiles with their launchers, rockets, mines and anti-tank missiles. Following these measures, the United States also increased its support from the Mujahidin and anti-Soviet forces. China reacted sharply to the Soviet Union's annexation of the Wakhan Corridor as part of the June 16, 1981border agreement. According to Wakhan Corridor's annexation; People's Republic of China (PRC) view, Soviet attempt to infiltrate Pakistan's northern borders and it's a great threat for Pakistan's security (A.Z Hilali, 2010, pp. 323-325). In 1985, the Soviet-backed government announced that China was secretly training more than 30000 counter-revolutionary forces in 120 camps in Pakistan. Also had some camps in Azgar, Gogiefeng and the Maryang of Xinjiang Province (Emadi, 1993, pp. 1-2).

At the end of the 1980s, Soviet power declined dramatically and it faced to opposition of US and China. In during of this period, Afghanistan and Pakistan signed the Geneva agreement and United States approved of it. As a result, the Soviet Union accepted this agreement in 1988. The Geneva agreement more emphasized to withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. According to this agreement; United States and Soviet Union must stop their foreign intervention. With recognition of this agreement, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan. After that, the process of normalization of Sino-Afghan relations began. In 1987 and 1988 the Soviet Union took unprecedented steps to withdraw its forces and reducing the strength of its ground forces, and reduced its operations at least to 30 percent. Therefore, Beijing continued to support of Pakistan's Islamist parties and provided weapons and ammunition to the Mujahidin. After the Soviet's withdrawal from Afghanistan, China's foreign policy focused on resolving the political crisis in Afghanistan. With increases of China's strategic emphasis on Afghanistan, in the 1980s, there were signs of a new foreign policy doctrine but Afghanistan had played a very prominent role. While Beijing had previously raised the possibility of war; it now sought to prevent war by uniting with the "enemies of the enemy". To achieve this goal, Chinese leaders such as "Hu Yaobang", "Huang Hua" and even "Deng Xiaoping" have acknowledged that war was inevitable in another world and the "Geral Segal" also stressed that China's strategic position on Afghanistan has been unclear since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Afghanistan (Baisali Mohanty, 2018, p. 136). Basically, the main reason for changing of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan was withdrew of Soviet Union from Afghanistan and this policy completely parallel to the Afghan's protesters against the Soviet invasion.

Study of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan (1990-2001)

Throughout the 1980s, China hardly pushed on Moscow to leave Afghanistan. After the speech of the Soviet leadership "Leonid Brezhnev", the Chinese leader "Deng Xiaoping" said: "the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan is one of the three things that should to do before normalizing of Sino-Soviet relation". The last Soviet Union's troops left Afghanistan in April 1989. Exactly one month before Gorbachev's visit to Beijing for normalize and resume of Sino-Russia relations after a long pause (John W. Garver, 2016, pp. 1026-1027). After Collapsed of "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan"; in during civil wars of Afghanistan and deteriorated security situations in Afghanistan, China withdrawn its embassy from Afghanistan in 1993 (Zhu Yongbiao, 2018, p. 2081).

The List of Chinese ambassadors in Afghanistan

Number	Name	Appointed	Terminate
1	Ding Guoyu (丁国钰)	June 1955	July 1958
2	Hao Ting (郝汀)	August 1958	May 1965
3	Chen Feng (陈枫)	July 1965	January 1969
4	Xie Bangzhi (谢邦治)	July 1969	January 1973

5	Gan Yetao (甘野陶)	February 1973	June 1976
6	Huang Mingda (黄明达)	September 1977	October 1979
From October 1979 to April 2002 there is no Chinese ambassador because the Chinese embassy withdrawn from Afghanistan.			
7	Sun Yuxi (孙玉玺)	April 2002	January 2005
8	Liu Jian (刘健)	January 2005	February 2007
9	Yang Houlan (杨厚兰)	March 2007	February 2009
10	Zheng Qingdian (郑清典)	March 2009	March 2011
11	Xu Feihong (徐飞洪)	March 2011	August 2013
12	Deng Xijun (邓锡军)	September 2013	October 2015
13	Yao Jing (姚敬)	October 2015	October 2017
14	Liu Jinsong (刘劲松)	2017	December 2019
15	Wang Yu (王愚)	November 2019	Present

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2020).

After the turbulent civil wars in Afghanistan, Taliban took the power of Afghanistan in 1996 and "the most of them were Pashtuns". Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates also recognized the emerging of Taliban government in Kabul. And then, it was become clear that the Taliban's regime cannot able to stabilize of Afghanistan. Some western scholars mentioned; China supported from Taliban government as much as possible in many aspects and China was quickly became interested in trading relations with Taliban in natural resource and energy (Baisali Mohanty, 2017, pp. 12-13). But, for the following reasons, China did not support from Taliban regime in Afghanistan:

1- When China supported from Taliban's regime in Afghanistan in many aspects but why didn't recognize the Taliban's government in Afghanistan.
2- The rise of extremism in Afghanistan is directly contrasted with China's economic and political interests in Central Asia and Afghanistan.
3- The rising of fundamentalist groups in Afghanistan is conflict with the stability of China (China's core interest) and these groups could create connections with Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang region, Afghanistan had become as a shelter for international terrorist groups and Uyghur Muslims in the ruling of Taliban regime in Afghanistan. But, China never wants it.
4- According to historically and China's neighbourhood diplomacy; China has always supported of Afghanistan for stability and independence because it's completely compromises with "China's New Neighbourhood Diplomacy" and the security of Afghanistan is to benefits of China and region's countries.

As "David Denoon" rightly said; China's approach shifted from an aggressive and belligerent stance in the 1970s and 1980s to a much more diplomatic stance in the 1990s. After collapsed of Soviet Union and the end of the Cold war, China had adapted to great changes. China has made great efforts to adapt its new security doctrine to adapt to these changes. Beijing considered multidimensional communication channels and multifaceted economic cooperation in this region of the world (Baisali Mohanty, 2018, pp. 138-139). Many scholars, such as "Nerkez Opacin", argue that China has sought to improve its economic ties and capabilities rather than military aspects to strengthen bilateral relations and position itself in the global equation. Under this new security doctrine, the idea of China's peaceful development is highlighted. This policy explains that China can achieve to economic boom in a safe environment and become an important player in the world peace. In addition to contributing to world peace through China's own development, it can actively pursue its economic goals. This policy applies towards Afghanistan. Since 1990, China has taken significant steps for make profit of Afghanistan's demand. These steps ranged from sectionalisation and seasonal compromises to consolidating economic commitments. Beijing has no particular interest in accepting a security role in Afghanistan; because in this case, China has to deal with different stakeholders, according to this approach; even risks of China becoming the main target of the international terrorist group.

Someone look at China with suspicion; they believed; that this country, while trying to present a peaceful image of itself, at the same time, it is preparing for an attack in

order to satisfy its demands. On the other hand, some western commentators have believed that China's desire for a "free ride" in Afghanistan will enable it to take advantage of the potential benefits of a "secondary" government. Minxin Pei writes: China used from current benefits of the current world order, but avoids from sharing of its costs (Minxin Pei, 2010). The most Eastern scholars have believed; that China will benefit from stability and peace in Afghanistan and this country will use from Afghanistan's natural resources, especially oil, will be more importance than the country's security concerns. "Bates Gill" has believed: looking at the last 15 years and looking at the next 10 to 15 years; it is clear that China is becoming a more responsible beneficiary (Bates Gill, 2007, pp. 1-2).

With the launch of US military operations (Operations of Stable Freedom) to eliminate international terrorist threats emanating from Afghanistan, the situations of Kabul changed drastically; because the United States sought to oust the Taliban from power and to create a secure environment in Afghanistan. In such a scenario, Afghanistan needed to multilateral of the regional and global cooperation. Among of the regional countries; China also supported from US "Operations of stable freedom" against the Taliban regime after the 9/11 attacks. Also, General Pervez Musharraf the President of Pakistan has backed US efforts to capture of Osama Bin Laden. US President George W. Bush has called on the Taliban to hand over Bin Laden and all al-Qaeda leaders and should close their terrorist training camps. American and British forces heavily bombed the Taliban defensive equipment and command centres. Eventually, Taliban was vesting of Kabul and Northern Alliance forces took control of the city in November 2001. After 2001, China increased its engagements in Afghanistan in many aspects (Baisali Mohanty, 2018, pp. 140-141).

Conclusion

Afghanistan-China can be considered as neighbors that do not have a negative historical mentality in the minds of both nations towards each other. Numerous trips by high-ranking officials of the two countries illustrate this claim. So, Chinese leaders traveled to Afghanistan at various eras. Zhou Enlai, the first prime minister of the People's Republic of China, traveled to Kabul and discussed with the King and Prime Minister of Afghanistan about the common border and the expansion of economic relations China-Afghanistan. As a result, the Chinese official's paved the way for resolving border difficulties between the two countries. Subsequently, Afghan Prime Minister Mohammad Daud Khan traveled to Beijing to discuss Afghanistan's willingness to resolve border issues with Chinese leader Mao Zedong.

The two countries have not missed any opportunity to establish friendship and resolve their small differences and doubts by diplomatic skills. In 1963, a Chinese delegation traveled to Kabul and signed a historic agreement to resolve the border dispute over the Wakhan area of Badakhshan province with Xinjiang. The resolution of border disputes between the two neighboring states further facilitated the improvement of political and economic relations between the two countries. After that, relations between the two countries were further strengthened, and official meetings continued. As a result, it led to the signing of a short-term cooperation agreement between the two countries. In 1973, China recognized the Afghan presidential regime. Also, when the "Democratic People's Republic of Afghanistan" came to power in Afghanistan by the coup in 1978. At first, Beijing recognized the Moscow line of the Afghan communist regime, but China-Afghan relations soon became cold and suspicious. The rigid slogans of the Kabul regime at that time accused China of support elements of "reactionary and revisionist." Kabul condemned China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979. A few months later that year, the Soviet Red Army invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. This time, China did not recognize the new government of (DPRA) and became deeply concerned about the military invasion of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Therefore, according to one of the main characteristics of China's foreign policy toward Afghanistan, China supported Afghanistan against the Soviet Union in 1989. While Mujahedeen came to power in Afghanistan and the deteriorating security situation, the Chinese embassy withdrawn from Kabul in 1993. With the rise of the Taliban Islamic Emirate and their capture of Kabul in September 1996, there has been no improvement in Beijing-Kabul relations. China was very concerned about extremist Islamists' influence in its Muslim areas, especially about Chinese Uighurs. For this reason, China does not recognize the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

Throughout its millennial civilization, it has never sought to colonize or invade other countries. Therefore, the historical development of China's foreign policy towards Afghanistan before 2001 is necessary and helpful for explaining of characteristics of China's foreign policy toward Afghanistan after 2001.

References

A.Z Hilali, "China's response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan," Central Asian Survey volume 20, Issue 3 (July 2010): pp. 323-325.

Baisali Mohanty, "China in Afghanistan: Security, regional standing, and status," Observer Research Foundation (ORF) Occasional Paper # 126. (31 October 2017)

Baisali Mohanty, "China's Foreign Policy in Afghanistan," translator: Sayed Najibullah Musab, Kabul: Aazem Publications (2018): pp. 129-130.

Bates Gill, "China Becoming a Responsible Stakeholder," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (June 11, 2007).

Dirk Van Der, Kley, "China's Foreign Policy in Afghanistan", LOWY INSTITUTE (October 2014).

Emadi, Hafizullah, "China's Politics and Developments in Afghanistan," Journal of Asian and African Studies XXIII (1993).

Fazil, Muhammad Daim, "China in Afghanistan: Contemporary Engagements and Challenges Ahead," IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 19, Issue 8, Ver. II (Aug. 2014).

Gargi Dutt, "China and the Developments in Afghanistan," International Affairs (1980).

Hussainzahda, Basir Ahmad "The Background of Leftist's Thought in Afghanistan,", (December 22, 2009) accessed on March 22, 2020 from https://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2009/12/091222_a-jadi-6th-afghan-liftism.

Ibrahimy Niamatullah, "Ideology without leadership, the Rise and Decline of Maoism in Afghanistan," Afghanistan Analysts Network (2012): pp. 1-24.

J. Ahmady, "The Relationships between China and Afghanistan and the Function of China in Afghanistan," Update Information (August 23, 2017).

Jens Vesterlund Mathiesen, "understanding the new shift in China's strategy towards Afghanistan," Royal Danish Defense College (November 2019).

John W. Garver, "China's Quest: the history of the foreign relations of the People's Republic of China," New York: Oxford University Press (2016)

Justyna Szczudlik-Tatar, "China's Evolving Stance on Afghanistan: Towards More Robust Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics," Polski Instytut Spraw Miedzynarodowych (PISM) (The Polish Institute of International Affairs), No. 22 (58), (October 2014).

Mesbahzada, Sayed Muhammad Baqir "The Begininng and the End of Political Movements in Afghanistan," Kabul: Mohammad Shah Book Company (2005).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Chinese Ambassadors to Afghanistan," accessed on October 25, 2020 from https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/wjrw_665549/3607_665555/3608_665557/t18085.shtml.

Minxin Pei, "China: The Big Free Rider," Newsweek (January 27, 2010) accessed on October 15, 2020 from https://www.cmc.edu/news/article-by-professor-pei-in-newsweek.

Organized by the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies, "Afghanistan's Other Neighbors: Iran, Central Asia, and China," the American Institute of Afghanistan studies (2009): p. 1-21.

Research and Studies Organization of New Afghanistan, "Afghanistan borders," Kabul: Research and Studies Organization of New Afghanistan (2011): pp. 2-3.

Serafettin Yilmaz, "Afghanistan: China's New Frontier?" Shandong University 25 Publications 23 Citations (December 2012).

Shen-Yu Dai "China and Afghanistan," the China Quarterly, Volume, 25 (January 1966).

Younkyoo Kim, "The New Great Game in Central Asia Post 2014: The US 'New Silk Road Strategy and Sino Russian Rivalry," Communist and Post-Communist Studies (2013).

Zaher Tanin, "Afghanistan in the Twentieth Century," Tehran: Muhammad Ibrahim Sharati Afghan's Press (2005).

Zhao Huasheng, "China and Afghanistan: China's Interests, Stances, and Perspectives," Centre for Strategic and International Studies (March 2012).

Zhu Yongbiao, "China's Afghanistan Policy since9/11. Stages and Prospects", Asian Survey 58: 2 (2018).